177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence • 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

fourth day, and my impression was that the participants were in a very quiet, dull and somewhat sleepy mood. The festival is conducted by the lamas of the Mewu lamaseries, more than half of whom attend. The chieftain does not come regularly himself, but always sends members of his family. The participants arrive in their Sunday-best, their costumes often being magnificent. The women wear red silk tassels on their conical felt hats. You see a great many purple and scarlet silk jackets with gay collars; red, purple and figured pulu coats; rich hair ornaments of silver and gold. The middle section of the gala hair ornaments of the young girls is decorated with silvery bands of tin. The women's furs are often trimmed with a bias band of cloth that looks like a skirt and is edged with otter fur or colored cloth. Everyone brings along his best saddles and bridles, often mounted with silver. You see many showy weapons, guns with silver-mounted stocks and swords in choice sheaths. The women also wear beautiful knives in their belts.

/69/ Social Life

551/563 The Mewu-Fantzu are said to have surnames (hsing), a custom which they have taken over from the Chinese, probably only a short time ago for it was not customary among the Fantzu, and the surname is not used in conversation. (1) According to an ancient

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 42, the Amdo-Tibetans have only given names; Rockhill 1), page 724, says the same.

custom, a child is given a name by a lama when it is one or two months old. This name-giving is not connected with a special festival. An adult is usually given a nickname by his friends, which refers to a special characteristic or event, for example, "imperfection," "deformed." I have no information about a change of name as a result of marriage. People with the same surname may marry, likewise relatives, all except brothers and sisters. Thus cousins may marry or a nephew may marry his aunt on either side of the family, or a son may marry the divorced wife of his father. Couples from the same neighborhood or from outlying areas are free to marry, but not those of special tent encampments or special families.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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for this patrilineal group bearing the same surname. They have borrowed the word from the Chinese, and now use it to denote people of the same surname who are known to be related, but it is a Chinese concept, and does not play an active part in their social organisation.

To the Min Chia it is the village, not the kin group, which is the fundamental social unit above the family. People living in the same village, no matter what surname they bear, jointly revere a common "ancestor" or more strictly, "founder", known as the *Ber Dser*, the "Original Ancestor", who is the reputed founder of the settlement. In Min Chia villages, where there may be as many as two hundred families, or as few as forty, three or four surnames are the rule, and no villages inhabited only by one *tsu*, common in Chinese districts, are found. In consequence of this the type of village name common in most parts of China, such as Chang Chia T'sun "village of the Chang Family" are never found in the Min Chia districts, where names such as "Chicken Village" or other descriptive names are usual. While the *Ber Dser*, the Founder, is often said to be the ancestor of one of the families living in the village, this is not necessarily the case, the worship paid to him is thus not ancestor worship, but the cult of a Genius Loci, open to all the inhabitants and not the special duty of one family.

The *tsu* or patrilineal group is not important to the Min Chia because they do not practise exogamy, and the *tsu* is thus shorn of its main function. When it is remembered that to the Chinese marriage with one of the same surname, even when no relationship can be traced, is strictly forbidden, the wide difference in Min Chia custom is apparent, for the Min Chia not only marry members of families with the same surname as themselves, but also paternal cousins of the same generation. Since the primary function of the surname among the Chinese is to locate the individual in his or

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her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chinese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent consequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia writes as Wang, using the character employed by the Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en, the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a combination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a common *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint family, in which married sons and their children continue to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years, but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the property and set up separate establishments. This indeed, sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family" as it is called, merely means that the young married couple occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is given a share of the family land and henceforth manages independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this